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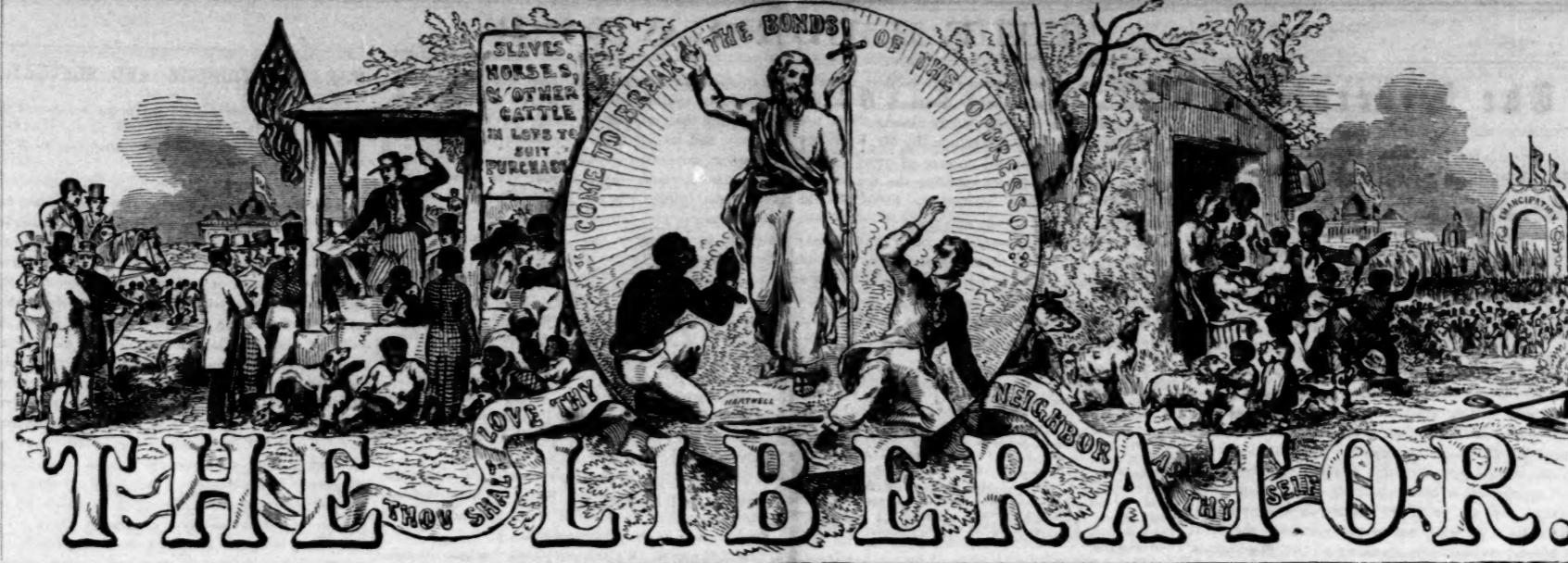
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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

VOL. XXXI. NO. 43.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1861.

WHOLE NO. 1609.

AS SLAVE

rnal, from Carroll recent expedition of Col. Cowdile's received the wavering march through our I know continues, where whipped and sent to relish hunting business?—Ward.

the people that slave-wives gave the orders to that effect? Marshal, or does our a Colonel? our as well as a protest against any. It is full adopted itself to our vogue gave a "policy" in study old-school pro-slavery as he of the campaign confront in his blunt way

Poor, time and elsewhere by the army, assets Colored not them an admiral suppose that the free-men of the United States were in a catching pose, trying to support a cause beyond re- for the term of drilled in negroes, and deployed others, then let it

is for crushing and surest way, proclaimed. The and Congress, and sticklers for the war is not to in favor of slavery, the army, is there a direct abolition to be well in mind.—Cleve-

stout negro men, nation," marched military order, un officers. They with shovels, axes, were seen. They for Jeff. Davis as he only Abolitionist.

s were rather gleaming axes black skulls of the they are wilfully half of Southern trencles for the may be than the tches, throwing of masked bat abolition Paul made upon them.

toads to the West,"

e of Abolition. Thorough-going either inspire a return to an ins- present, the en- men afraid of thing to adopt means of "smash- the word "abol- suspected in his capacity, not by sweep ignore and adopt the es- for the sake of slaves? Call it the devil's any negroes out of the United States, at the loyal Union, and lose no to the Virginia brave fight- lands, and to a (unwillingly) of a decision then the whole men and maillines to

East too, the tactfully abate the cause? Go at it all are threat-

white man!

comprise to it to wait for them. But strike prompt-

D.

221 Wash-

n of the Ameri- high Missions to their delivered

25 cents.

KRIT SMITH:

of Boston;

they delivered

TOOSEY, street, N. Y.

Refuge of Oppression.

## THE POSITION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN REFERENCE TO SLAVERY.

ABOLITION NOT THE OBJECT OF THE WAR.

The federal administration is misapprehended and misrepresented by the extreme anti-slavery party at the North just as much as it is by the extreme pro-slavery fire-eaters at the South. Both one and the other persist in representing that the object of the government in putting forth its strength to suppress the rebellion is to suppress, at the same time, the institution of slavery. At the South a general dissemination of this idea has converted a large portion of the population into rebels; at the North it has a pernicious effect in weakening the arm of the government, and thereby procrastinating the close of the war.

It certainly is not the fault of Congress, of the President, or of the various members of the administration, that this false and injurious idea has got abroad in either section. The intention of the government in the institution of slavery in the States where it exists are numerous, explicit and conclusive.

In another part of to-day's paper we group together some of the most important of these official statements. The first in point of time, as well as in point of conclusiveness, is the resolution passed by the House of Representatives on the 11th of February, 1861, solemnly protesting that neither Congress, nor the people nor governments of the non-slaveholding States, have a constitutional right to legislate upon, or interfere with, slavery in any slaveholding State of the Union. This comprehensive resolution was adopted by a Republican House of Representatives, the vote by yeas and nays resulting in yes 161, nays none. If the Chicago platform contained anything at variance with the principle here enunciated, that platform was, by this solemn legislative act, swept away and consigned to oblivion. Then we have the fact that Congress, at its close last winter, by a two-thirds vote in both houses, proposed an amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing the intertia of slavery in the States where it now exists.

So much for Congress. Now for the executive. What is the President's position on the subject of slavery in the States? It is that of a full recognition of the sovereign power of the States themselves over it, and of a corresponding disavowal of any right in either the federal government or Congress to interfere with it. We find him pausing and hesitating, and evincing much reluctance, to sign even that very proper law, passed at the last session, confiscating rebel property, lest it might clash with those rights which he regarded as sacred and inviolable. We find him also disapproving and annulling that part of General Fremont's proclamation which declared the slaves of rebel masters emancipated; and we find him on all occasions making the most candid and explicit avowals of his determination to observe all constitutional guarantees, to enforce the laws with an impartial hand, and to respect the rights of every State and section. No man can doubt the honest and sincerity of Mr. Lincoln in this, in all his other practices. There have Attorney-General Bates's letter in reference to the same question, recognizing the validity of all the laws of the State of Missouri, including those affecting slaves. The sentiments and views of the Secretary of War in regard to the slavery question are no less loyal, no less constitutional, and no less clearly expressed, than are those of the President. His letter to General Butler in regard to the treatment of fugitive slaves at Fortress Monroe puts at rest all doubts respecting his fidelity to the national compact. He declares it to be the desire of the President that all existing rights in all the States shall be fully respected and maintained, and he issues his command forbidding in the most imperative manner any interference by the troops with the servants of peaceful citizens, or their preventing the voluntary return of a fugitive to his master. An order of the day of Gen. Mansfield in reference to the same point forbids the harboring of fugitive slaves in the quarters and camps of the troops serving in the Department of Washington, and forbids their being carried to a company troops on the march. Finally, we have the speech made by the Secretary of the Interior at a public meeting held in Providence, R. I., on the 16th of August, in which he lays down the views and policy of the administration in reference to the war, declaring that "there could not be found in South Carolina a man more anxious religiously and scrupulously to observe all the features of the Constitution relating to slavery, than Abraham Lincoln." The administration, he said, made no war upon Southern institutions. They recognized the right of South Carolina and Georgia to hold slaves if they desired to do so; and they held that it was not the province of the government of the United States to enter into a crusade against the institution of slavery.

In the interest of slavery, the territorial integrity of the country has been destroyed, and some arms, forts, and money seized. Is that all? If so, perhaps the money between this nation and slavery might be settled by the repudiation of slavery, and a return of the stolen articles.

But it is less than a centime of the account which this nation holds against slavery. Years of usurpation and oppression of insults and abuses heaped upon the slaves, whatever form it tried to maintain its slight foothold on the continent, years now summed up and culminating in a cruel civil war, involving the daily expenditure of millions the exercise of the means and powers of the people, the suspension and lasting injury of trade, the reinstating of piracy on the high seas,—more than all, the death of vast numbers of the youth of America, and the grief of tens of thousands of hitherto happy homes—all these are in the account that this nation has now to settle with slavery. Can they be repaid by the conquest of what forces the South can bring into the field? Will it be enough if slavery should at length agree to ground its arms until it is stronger? Can it be settled by a truce of one or two or ten years? Is the balance struck, if we have the old Union, with the old causes at work in it, to bring forth like results in the future?

Justice can be satisfied in that alone which satisfies Wisdom.—THE UTTER DESTRUCTION OF SLAVERY.—No other way can we act up to the lessons which have taught us of its own blasting nature; in no other can we as a nation obtain that blessing for which we have already paid the full price in treasure and blood—the riddance from the curse of evil under which we have groaned ever since we became a nation.

This is justice to ourselves; I have not mentioned that higher justice which is due to four millions of human beings, cruelly deprived of "the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which our nation, in the pure aspirations of its youth, meant to secure for all. You are bound to stand by legal formulas. Yet I cannot forget what I once heard you say, with luminous words, that seemed to shine out like responses to the everlasting stars that then and there gleamed above you:—"Every man that comes into the world has a mouth to be fed, and a back to be clothed; by a notable coincidence, each has also hands. Now I take it that those hands were meant to feed that mouth, and clothe that back; and any institution that deprives them of that right, and the rights deducible from it, strikes at the very roots of natural justice, which is also political wisdom."

I pray you, Mr. President, to remember that, when the war is over, you will have to restore millions to those whose rights, every day that they remain thereafter despoiled of them will be traceable to your door!

It is merciful. Not only merciful to the slave, that he should have this cruel and galling yoke that binds him to the plane of the brute removed; but only merciful to us, that the heart-burnings and animosities which have rent our land should be laid by the eradication of their cause; not only merciful to posterity, that this fearful and irrepressible source of trouble and guilt should not be bequeathed them;

but more than to these or to all others, a decree of emancipation would be MERCIFUL TO THE SOUTH.

Up from broad and beautiful plains, worn out and desolate; from undrained marshes and swamps, whose very wealth has turned to malaria; from the locked treasures of gold and iron in Virginia and the Carolinas; from the eighty-five thousand white adults in Virginia who cannot read or write, and the even more fearful proportions of ignorance in more Southern States; from the young men trained to licentiousness and idleness, whose remnant of strength is to-day given to the monster which has ruined them; from the tearful, anxious eyes of mothers, wives, sisters, whose souls know the agony of seeing the son, brother, and husband the easy prey of the temptations that cannot be escaped.—O, from all these, Sir, would come a response to your decree for Liberty: "Merciful, most merciful!"

There is a weak love that yields and indulges; there is a great and divine love that spares not.

S. It is then also that your Excellency can be faithful to your parole of honor to the United States. You have nobly discerned that your oath of office required you to preserve the Union and the Constitution at any cost. You can hardly fail to remember that the American people, in electing you over candidates representing all varieties of opinion, declared that certain principles should prevail in the government of this country,—principles to which you had pledged your allegiance. When afterward the alternatives of this painful conflict or the abandonment of the principles on which you were elected were again and again presented to the American people, they again and again refused any and every compromise of those principles, whatever the result might be. You cannot be true to them if you compromise them, or fail to defend them. Slavery would soon wrest more than half of this country from its allegiance to those principles. Either the Principle which placed you in office, or the Institution which is in deadly grip with it, must fall to the ground.

Remember, Sir, that the people did not place you in office to preserve the Union merely; that they had underlaid you with a hand to hold her head. That

with their hand and their heart, and there were stern orders that

that the Union should be administered in the interest of yourselves. But not only so, they declared

that the Union should be administered in the interest of peace and conciliation. To that end your honor stands plighted. If any peace shall come in which that end is lost, the country is defeated, whatever victory its military arm may have achieved.

Can you, Sir, preserve the United States with slavery there? Will slavery ever be united with the principles you represent? Is not the effort to make it so akin to the effort at any chemic impossibility as the union of fire and water, or of oil and alcohol?

There is yet to be shown the State that emancipated its slaves which did not at once rise above the stature into which it was before dwarfed.

It has yet to be shown that Right has ever wronged It.

If, under the formidable circumstances which now surround our nation, we should fear the expenses or the labors attending such a step, then mark how Hail stands ready to help a hand to hold her head. The Queen of the Isles stands with her ungathered hair, with her hair-spices and fruits gilding every wave around her shores, awaiting the ten millions of gatherers to whom she can yet give a hospitable home. One word to you, Sir, and she is a recognized sister Republic. Another word, and whilst African troops march on to see that your decree is executed, the aged, the women and children, which we can scarcely sustain, are borne away to the happy clime where no fevers nor lasses await them.

5. It is the only path to a real success. We justly count as a great natural fortress against secession that mountain range stretching from Pennsylvania almost to the Gulf,—whose brave and hardy inhabitants have justified Milton's designation of freedom as "a mountain nymph";—why should we overlook the millions of the oppressed stretching into every branch and twig of Southern society, who, by the Constitution and laws, are our natural allies, unless, by our inhumanity, we drive them to the side of the enemy?

It is best to have 700,000 fighting men of the South our enemies, when we can make them our friends? We have certain knowledge that we have been represented to that class as their bitter foes; they have been told that our plan was to slay a portion of them, and banish them with their families. The Queen of the Isles stands with her hair-spices and fruits gilding every wave around her shores, awaiting the ten millions of gatherers to whom she can yet give a hospitable home. One word to you, Sir, and she is a recognized sister Republic. Another word, and whilst African troops march on to see that your decree is executed, the aged, the women and children, which we can scarcely sustain, are borne away to the happy clime where no fevers nor lasses await them.

We have done nothing to disabuse the slave's mind in this particular. Consequently, although here and there a knowing negro has been deceived, and is working most devotedly against us.

At this rate, we shall be defeated, and, as I think, it will be.

But this war must, as now conducted, prove more and more a disheartening one to our people and our soldiers.

As at Manassas our men conquered one battery only to find two more opening upon them, we all have a misgiving that a victory over the South would be the most painful complications. We must hold on to our victory after we have got it, for it will have a perpetual tendency to elude us. It was, you remember, a difficult problem to decide whether the wolf, or the man who, having caught him, had to hold him fast, was made captive by the exploit. If the capture of the South is the wolf, then the North is the man who, having sacrificed the fair prospects of life, and the wealth and power which usually absorb a man, has given up his life to bear the burden of the enemy. If he could not hold him fast, he must let him go.

The war is now to be fought, and the battle is to be won, in the breast of the present Southern generation; but for a generation we could hold them quiet. The hatred might even be transmitted to the next generation; that too might be held. But in this age, as we see in the case of France and England, funds must gradually be worn away before advancing commercial and other interests; and, with the root of Disunion plucked up, the third generation at the South, and perhaps the next, would thank us for the painful surgery with which we saved them, and we should be bound together by all natural ties,—ties which slavery alone holds in abeyance now. If this fair prospect were ahead, our people would forget in its glory the pains and deprivations of the present, and go forward animated by that faith which is the substance of hope.

Moreover, the many disheartening circumstances that press upon us now would be removed. To the soldiers applause is sweet. But we have heard no wide awake, and they were born blind.

The word is EMANCIPATION. These are not men that require to be won over; they have long been wide awake, and they were born blind.

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These are not men that require to be won over; they have long been wide awake

## BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF FEDERAL PRISONERS.

Capt. Henry Allen, who was in command of the Government schooner William C. Atwater, when she was captured by a rebel craft called the Spray, on the 10th of May last, off Cedar Keys, Florida, arrived in New York yesterday, having, together with his son, been a prisoner in the cockpit of his own vessel, at Apalachicola, for a period of four months. From Capt. Allen's statement, which we find in the New York *Herald*, it appears that the rebels who came under his immediate observation are the most cowardly and barbarous set of scoundrels in the world. The following is the statement of the Captain:

"The schooner William C. Atwater, of which I was the captain, belonged to New Haven, and was in the service of the Government at the time of her capture by the rebel steamer Spray. The crew of my schooner numbered eight men. We arrived off Cedar Keys, Florida, on the 10th of May, on which day we were captured by the Spray, which had on board thirty-one men armed to the teeth with bowie knives, revolvers, muskets with bayonets, &c. The captors took us to Apalachicola, where we arrived on the 13th of May, when myself and crew were placed in confinement in the cockpit of the Atwater, and a strong guard set over us. The rebels treated us in a shocking manner. Sometimes they would come aboard at twelve o'clock at night, pull me out of my bed, and offer all sorts of indignities to me."

On one of these occasions, several of them came frantically in, in a beastly state of intoxication, where I was sleeping, dragged me up on deck, brandished knives, bayonets and other weapons over my head, and threatened me with instant death. One of them struck me in the cheek with a bayonet, wounding me slightly, while others, carrying ropes in their hands, shouted out, 'Hang the Yankee son of a b—, he must never see the North again.' They did not, however, carry their threats into execution, and after they had amused themselves at my expense for some time longer, I was again placed in confinement.

We were often left three and four days without a morsel of food of any kind, and the only means of subsistence we had was by catching catfish and cooking them by stealth; for the rebels would not allow us to go into the galley or to light a fire. Sometimes they would be from twenty-five to thirty rebels on board keeping guard. During the four months that we were prisoners, I never saw a sober man among them. When I arrived at Apalachicola, on the 13th of May, the rebels got news that the Crusader was coming from Key West to attack them, upon which they immediately provided themselves with a quantity of spirits of turpentine, and four or five boxes of shavings, in order, they said, to burn me and my vessel up if the anticipated attack should take place.

Finally, I was taken to Richmond and placed in the lower prison, situated on the corner of Main and Twelfth street. They said as I was an "alien" enemy, they would place me there for safe keeping. I was imprisoned here in the lower floor, among a parcel of dilapidated machinery and filth of every kind.

I heard of Capt. Gibbs, who was placed in command of the place, not to keep me in such a filthy hole, and besought him to allow me the privilege of seeing Gen. Winder. This last request was conceded to me, and I told the General of the manner in which I had been treated. His reply was,

"Do you want to be treated better than all the others? You have the crew of the Savannah in New York in irons, and we are going to treat you in the same way."

The General also remarked that he was sorry he had not a worse place to put me in. However, through the influence of the Secretary of War, I was not again shut up in the prison, having been placed in a private house, where I was confined all the time. Finally, I was taken before the Attorney General at Richmond, and he released me, for the simple reason that (as I had destroyed my charter party privately, before the rebels could get hold of it) there were no just grounds for detaining me. At the time the Atwater was captured, she was in ballast, and proceeding to Tortugas for lumber. Thankful to Providence for having got off so easily, I at once commenced my journey to New York. All along the route, the rebels made me come out on the platform of the cars whenever a stop was made, and exhibit me to excited and depraved-looking mobs, who hooted me and threatened my life. I only got three meals during my journey from Apalachicola to Richmond. They would not even sell myself and three of my crew, whom I had along with me, anything, as they said they wanted to starve us to death, and they did not want us to ever see the North again."

I arrived in New York October 7th, and met say that I have never spent four such miserable months in my life as those in which I was subjected to the "tender mercies" of the rebels."

## SECESSION BARBARITIES.

Two or three weeks ago, a couple of men from an Illinois regiment in Missouri started out to pass a few hours in a scouting and hunting expedition. As they did not return, word of soldiers was sent out to the day in search of them. After going a few miles, the soldiers met a person, who informed them that at a place which he named, he had seen two men, like those they described, fired on by a dozen secessionists who were prodding through that region. They went to the place and found one dead, and only one of their lost comrades. His legs and arms had been cut off and laid across each other upon his body; his head, severed from the trunk, was set upright upon his chest, and the figures 13, the number of his regiment, were marked with his own blood upon his arms.

Over the mutilated body of the victim, the soldiers knelt, and swore an awful oath to take no prisoners. The secessionists are giving to this war a most appalling character. As a contemporary justly remarks, the transforming power of the terrible evil which has broken out like some deadly pestilence among the people of the United States, converting individuals supposed to be civilized into barbarians, seems to have no likeness in history; the cruelty it has suddenly engendered can find no parallel except in that Sepoy rebellion which made the Christian world shudder at its details became known. In Western Virginia, it has taken to midnight burnings of dwellings and farms, in which the heads of the families, only by helpless women and children, the escaped relatives in two cases being the narrowest it is possible to imagine, whilst every outrage known to the criminal calendar seems to run riot in Kentucky and Missouri. The destruction of railroads and bridges, where the lives of the innocent are not involved in the catastrophe, have really come to be the milder phases of the fearful visitation; and a man might as well be one of a party cast ashore on the Cannibal Islands of the Pacific as to be exposed to the tender mercies of the disunionists in too many portions of our late law-abiding and happy land.

The truth is, it is coming to that in the history of this terrible heresy, that no terms can be made with it by a civilized people. It has created, especially on the frontiers, a condition of things never conceived of by those who contemplated its course in the outset. There it has taken by the hand the veriest outlaws of the age; and organizing bands of savages—red men, who in too many cases have disgraced themselves by the association—it is prowling through the land on its destructive mission, and carrying terror and devastation to thousands of happy homes. When men are disposed to welcome pestilence, let them welcome it; but so long as they would put afar off the worst evils that bring death to their doors, let them make no terms with this evil visitant.—*Louisville (Ky.) Journal.*

## MUSTN'T BE TOUCHED.

A recent telegraphic dispatch announces the fact that some of the Federal prisoners have been transferred from Richmond to New Orleans, and upon their arrival in the latter city, were conducted to prison under the escort of a negro company. Of course, the intent of this was an insult to the defenseless men whom the fortunes of war had thrown into the worse than Philistine hands of the "Chivalry." We dare say that this negro company, many if not all the members of which had probably been impressed into the service, contained a greater number of really worthy men than almost any even of the "crack" companies of lighted complexioned rebels in Louisiana or elsewhere. It is more than probable that Mr. Shiel and Mr. Bent, and the Messrs. Waller generally, who lead off in this rebellion, claim the ownership of a good many negroes, who, when judged by the proper standard, are much better men, and would make much better citizens, than are their ambitious, restless and tyrannical masters.

## THE LIBERATOR.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 25, 1861.

Though all this may be true, yet judging of the intent of the treatment of our captive soldiers in this case, by the mean and degrading estimate put upon the negro by the Southern mind, it is evident that a mean and malicious insult was intended. And it was insult added to injury; for "the Slave Boys" had been shamefully maligned in the Confederate Capital, and had now been brought to the once "Crescent," now *waving* city, to undergo new and torturing privations and hardships, and even torture, as threatened, to toil with slaves in robbing works of rebel defence. It is, therefore, seemed good to the "Chivalry" who boast of their "high sense of honor," to add insult to injury already perpetrated, and yet to be perpetrated, upon defences of prisoners of war. It seemed good to the Southern slave-drivers to give these "Yankees" a practical illustration of the doctrine of "negro equality"—for not do Yankees believe in the "insane" assertion of the "old" and "obsolete" documents known as the Declaration of Independence, that "all men are created free and equal"? Of course, therefore, let them march to prison with "niggers." It seemed good to the Southern "gentlemen" to show these Yankees in what estimation they hold Northern "mud-sills," "greasy mechanics," and "dirty farmers," who earn their bread by the sweat of their own brows, or gain competence and wealth by their own and the required labor of their fellow-slaves. The former are upbraided as low-life fellows, who never even "ascend" to own a "nigger." Let "niggers" do escort duty for such. And so the Yankee soldiers went to prison, through the streets of New Orleans, with their negro guard, amid the taunts and jeers of infinite slave-drivers.

This incident serves to illustrate the wicked purpose of the Rebellion, which has been shamelessly avowed by its leaders to be the bearing of a hideous fabric of Despotism, with slavery for its "chief corner-stone," upon the ruins of the noble house of Liberty which our fathers built. The Rebel leaders boldly declare that in every well-regulated society, or government, there must be a dominant and a subject class—"gentlemen" and "mud-sills"—masters and slaves. The universal spread of slavery over the American continent, and the ultimate extinction of Free Labor, is the purpose of the present gigantic Slaveholders' Rebellion, upon which the whole civilized world now looks with anxious gaze. Let it succeed, and no color of skin will afford immunity against the fell and sure result of its success—the enslavement of the masses, *white and black*, in the North as well as in the South. With the devotees of slavery who have inaugurated and are prosecuting the unholy war against the Gods, who men who labor with their own hands are better than black men. We cannot help thinking that our brave Yankee boys did more fully realize the cause and purpose of the unholy Rebellion as they marched to prison the other day, with their "peculiar" escort, through the streets of New Orleans, than do those men at home in the free North, who cry aloud, "Slavery mustn't be touched." We have no idea that there is such a "peculiar" and very singular tenderness for the "peculiar and pestilent institution" among those soldiers in their New Orleans prison, as is witnessed among so many Northern people now-a-days. We have no idea that there is one of those prisoners of war, whether Democrat or Republican, who holds that slavery, in its deadly contest with the Government, "mustn't be touched."

*Independent (N. H.) Democrat.*

## EMANCIPATION.

We must deal with slavery as with other wrong institutions, and put a stop to its ruinous effects by terminating its existence.

If the present is a favorable time, as we believe it to be, to abolish slavery in the border States, it is also a suitable one for the Federal government to step forward with its offers of assistance to those States. They may not take the initiative, but if such a step is taken, we believe they would respond, and we might see legislative action taken without delay for emancipation.

As to the claim of remuneration to the slaveholder in payment for his slaves, we believe that in strict justice it has no foundation whatever. He is deprived of nothing whatever to which he has a just title. He loses his power over the person of the slave, the power of flogging and selling him, of interfering with his right to marriage, to education, and of compulsory labor without just reward. But he does not lose the slave's services. He obtains them as the services of a free man, in the same way as those do in Massachusetts who desire the labor of others, by offering a suitable reward. This is the only relation which ought to submit between men in regard to labor, that of the free demand and offer of universal freedom. No other is just, nor other secures the welfare of the people.

But although we do not believe in the claim of the slave-master to remuneration, the masters themselves do not view it in that light, and would probably demand a premium as a condition of their consent to emancipation, and we should not object to this, provided that could be secured. It would be an immense gain both to the border States themselves and to the whole country, to get rid of slavery, and we should begin to make sensible efforts to accomplish this object, and we believe that people of the free States would cheerfully pay a proportion of the re-lease amount. Taking the number of slaves at \$100,000, their value, at \$100 each, (and this is probably too high an estimate in the present condition of slavery,) would amount to \$10,000,000. This is a large sum, it is true, but small compared with our wealth and resources, not the half of what we are annually expending for purposes of war. It would be a mere pittance to have paid to the slaveholder.

We should be glad to see Mr. Sumner introduce a proposition into Congress the coming winter to carry out the views we have suggested. It would be a great and a statesmanlike act, and one worthy of his hearty sympathies with justice and freedom.—*New Bedford Republican Standard.*

## BIRDS OF A FEATHER.

The Boston *Journal* has joined hands with the *Post*, *Courier* and *Herald*, in their crusade against Charles Summer, on account of his Worcester speech, and indeed seems to labor to go further than they in efforts to create a prejudice against the Senator. It even charges him with being opposed to the Administration on account of emancipation sentiments. This is putting it rather too strong. Did the *Journal* read nothing in Mr. Sumner's speech urging the most vigorous prosecution of the war, to the complete and utter crushing out of the rebellion? And it is to oppose the Administration to suggest certain means which, in the speaker's opinion, would tend more effectually and speedily to effect that object? Is every man in the country to go to Washington and ascertain from the President and his Cabinet what measures he would propose and discuss? Is it to be agreed that he would be agreeable to their high-handedness to have proposed and discussed?

Is America so far behind the world that her

Napoleonic system introduced here, of allowing nothing to be said on political affairs, but what is agreeable to his imperial majesty? We hope not. The Administration is placed in power to carry out the public will, and not to control it or suppress its expression. Self-abnegation goes altogether too far when it renounces the right of free discussion of measures of public policy. The subject of emancipation is being pondered and discussed to a wider extent every day. Its consideration is confined to no sect and no party, and those cowardly politicians who are so alarmed lest bold, manly, and Christian sentiments shall find vent in a crisis like the present, are only preparing their own political graves.

The animus of this tirade against Sumner is sufficiently apparent from the place of its origin. It is confined almost entirely to Boston, the stronghold in this State of the hunker class of politicians, of those who have always favored compromise with slavery, and submission to all its demands, and who have followed Mr. Sumner with the most virulent hate throughout his whole career. It is decidedly rich to see the *Journal* in harmony with the *Courier*, a paper which opposed the Administration till it was in danger of having its office torn down, and then in a spasmodic article called on the Captain to "save the ship" by suspending the *habeas corpus*, occupy and hold every seceding State with an armed force, and which but the other day proclaimed the necessity of a reaction in politics, that is, the overthrow of the Administration and carrying on the Government on the plan of those two traitors, John Bell and John C. Breckinridge. This is strange bedfellowship. But both papers act on one principle. They are faithful to the hand that feeds them, and obey implicitly the orders of the ruling hunkerdom of Boston, which, thank Heaven, is not the State of Massachusetts.—*New Bedford Standard.*

## MUSTN'T BE TOUCHED.

A recent telegraphic dispatch announces the fact that some of the Federal prisoners have been transferred from Richmond to New Orleans, and upon their arrival in the latter city, were conducted to prison under the escort of a negro company. Of course, the intent of this was an insult to the defenseless men whom the fortunes of war had thrown into the worse than Philistine hands of the "Chivalry." We dare say that this negro company, many if not all the members of which had probably been impressed into the service, contained a greater number of really worthy men than almost any even of the "crack" companies of lighted complexioned rebels in Louisiana or elsewhere. It is more than probable that Mr. Shiel and Mr. Bent, and the Messrs. Waller generally, who lead off in this rebellion, claim the ownership of a good many negroes, who, when judged by the proper standard, are much better men, and would make much better citizens, than are their ambitious, restless and tyrannical masters.

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, OCT. 25, 1861.

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that influence, the *Chivalry* who boast of their 'high sense of honor,' to add insult to injury already perpetrated, and yet to be perpetrated, upon defences of prisoners of war. It seemed good to the Southern slave-drivers to give these 'Yankees' a practical illustration of the doctrine of 'negro equality'—for not do Yankees believe in the 'insane' assertion of the 'old' and 'obsolete' documents known as the Declaration of Independence, that 'all men are created free and equal'?" Of course, therefore, let them march to prison with 'niggers.' It seemed good to the Southern 'gentlemen' to show these Yankees in what estimation they hold Northern 'mud-sills,' 'greasy mechanics,' and 'dirty farmers.'

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress are suspended, and with it, the authority of the Courts in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the State bounded with slavery to a foreign power."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The following Memorial to the next Congress has been prepared for universal circulation, with the belief that it will readily be adopted by all but those who are in favor of sterilizing the accursed system of slavery—who, while pretending to be on the side of the Government, are secretly in hearty sympathy with the Southern traitors—and who would prefer to see the Federal forces everywhere defeated, the blood and substance of the people expended to no purpose, and the rule of the Southern Confederacy victorious over the whole country, rather than have the oppressed set free under law, even though a satisfactory adjustment is proposed in the case of the so-called loyal slaveholders.

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OCTOBER 25.

## THE LIBERATOR.

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in its domestic and foreign relations. Until he embraces this policy, nothing is to be expected but alternations of partial success, exhausting the vigor, and wasting the blood and treasure, of both parties—  
C. K. W.

## THE OBJECT OF THE WAR.

The Federal Administration is misapprehended and misrepresented by the extreme Anti-Slavery party at the North just as much as it is by the extreme Pro-Slavery fiers at the South. But, in the other respects in representing that the object of the Government, in pursuing its strength to suppress the rebellion, is to express, at the same time, the institution of slavery.—N. Y. Herald.

The above is a simple, naked, premeditated falsehood—conceived, disseminated, reiterated, with deliberate intent to deceive a part of the American people, to the serious wrong and injury of the rest. The writer knew perfectly well, and will continue to know while his comments on the war, and the extreme Anti-Slavery party at the North, has never alighted, much less stopped in representing, that “the object of the Government” is “to suppress the institution of slavery.” But this is a lie by which the *Herald* coin money, while it divides and weakens the loyal citizens of the United States; and we have no expectation that it will do otherwise than reiterate it so long as that they still succeed in doing so.

With the Republicans of the North ask and expect of the Government—all that they ask, and more than they have yet obtained—is, that it shall go straight ahead in the prosecution of the war for the Union, without regard to its effect on slavery.

If slaveholders choose to be rebels, we demand that they be treated as rebels, in entire indifference to the fact that they are slaveholders.

If they leave their homes to raise provisions for the rebel army, we insist that they be advised by, quiting that work and coming within our lines, with whatever information they can pick up, they secure a welcome and protection. The loyal States cannot afford to fight both sides of this struggle; and the right of rebels to have every man to be upheld, we insist, is it Jeff. Davis’ business, and not Abraham Lincoln’s, to uphold it.

Now see what the Government is actually doing, or suffering to be done. We quote from the *Herald* of an order, of which it suppressed the date, but which we must have been issued a few days before it was received:

“GEN. MANSFIELD’S ORDER RESPECTING FUGITIVE SLAVES.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF WASHINGTON.

Fugitive slaves will, under no pretense whatever, be permitted to reside, or be in any way harbored in the quarters of the Army, or in any place under its control. Neither will such slaves be allowed to accompany the troops on the march. Commanders of troops will be held responsible for a strict observance of this order.”

Who can fail to see that this is an order to our armies to put out their own eyes? How can they act without information as to the movements and strength of the enemy before them? And how shall they obtain such information if the only persons likely to give it are the slaves themselves?

This order makes no distinction between the slaves of Unionists and those of rebels in arm; neither are to be “harbored” nor permitted to rest in the camps or quarters of the Union armies. What negro who has any respect for himself will work in darkness and peril through miles of swamps and brush and thickets, exposing himself to the arrows of Indians or savages, if he is to be kicked out of them the next hour?

What commander who has any heart in the Union can will give or sanction such an order as the above? We respectfully suggest to the Commander-in-Chief, that, if this order of Gen. Mansfield has not already been recalled, it affords a sufficient occasion for his doing so.

It is even more understood, even by those who get their living by falsifying it, that the Anti-Slavery men of the North do not ask nor expect the Government to step one hair’s breadth aside from its line of duty in order to prevent slavery, and especially rebel slavery. Who to that man or creature who, in striving to preserve slavery, shall sacrifice the Union!—New York Tribune, Oct. 15.

## AN APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT.

BY A LOYALIST.

It is generally understood and acknowledged by profound thinkers, what is a self-evident truth, that there is not an effect without a cause. Therefore, in harmony with this philosophy, to which all will subscribe, whenever disease manifests itself, whether physical, mental or moral, in the individual or the nation, it is the first importance that we should understand its cause, else we shall labor in vain for its removal.

Now, if slavery be the cause of the diseased condition of our country, which thousands are daily coming to believe, we earnestly inquire, what means shall we be justified in using for its removal, which promises the most certain and speedy success? Does not every intelligent man in the country know, that in the present servile insurrection, we have the highest and best authority for saying, and acting accordingly, that it is not only legally and morally right, but it is positively obligatory upon our Commander-in-Chief, to proclaim martial law throughout the States, and then put forth a Declaration of Independence which shall give freedom to the 4,000,000 of slaves who pine in bondage upon American soil?

Let this be done, and every slaveholder, whether loyal or rebellious, would lay down his arms at the feet of the proper functionaries, and we should become really, what we have been only in name, the United States.

We should thus prevent the evils of a protracted war, such as the destruction of hundreds of thousands of lives, a deterioration in morals from which we should not recover in many generations, and a waste of money sufficient to establish and sustain a government larger and better than was this when it commenced its career as an independent sovereignty.

Then why should we delay? Why not now strike for universal freedom, when every nation on earth is ready to sustain us in such a cause, and to protect us, if need be, against the evil machinations of traitors, whether South or North?

Should our government be so delicate about using the word “slavery,” if there is no *duplicita* in it? since it must be known to be the cause of all our troubles, and that its abolition can be the only remedy? A word to the wise is sufficient.

## LETTER FROM BRADFORD.

BRADFORD, Oct. 21, 1861.

M. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR.—The Young Men’s Christian Association of Haverhill and Bradford have for a few Sunday evenings past been holding religious meetings in the School House in this district. Last evening, I was told the meetings were free to all, and invited to attend. I did so, and as the meeting was about being dismissed, I asked the privilege to offer a few remarks. None objected, and I spoke about ten minutes, and in the course of my remarks alluded to the present war, and the deplorable condition of the country, and very briefly spoke of the anti-slavery feeling pervading all classes, when I was once interrupted by our pious and worthy Postmaster, who said he wished I would not interrupt the meeting by any allusion to slavery, as that was a religious meeting, and not the place for the discussion of any such question. I at once asked who had been interrupted, and wished any such to manifest it by rising. None left their seats, and I continued to speak a few moments longer, as it was not then eight o’clock, and none in the house (which was well filled) seemed impatient to hear me.

Our worthy Postmaster, who has been recently appointed, appeared to be the most disturbed by my remarks, while some others, as I learn this morning, were pleased.

Some who heard Sallie Holley when she was here retain the many good impressions which she left, and we greatly need the labors of such self-sacrificing friends of humanity. Of what consequence to the world can a religion be that excludes from its formula all allusion to four millions of chattel slaves in this professed Christian land?

How grossly misinterpreted are the objects and desires of the Abolitionists! Many who never hear o

them, or read of them, except in the *Boston Post* or *Courier*, are the most ready to denounce them. The world moves, and truth must prevail, and a Christianity not based on humanity must prove a failure.

Yours, for the liberation of the world from every species of thralldom,

B. R. DOWNES.

P. S. I hope the meetings of the Young Men’s Christian Association in our School House will be free. I shall lend my mite to make them so.

## AN UNSPOKEN SPEECH.

We copy the following from a letter in the New York Tribune, giving a sketch of the Agricultural Fair recently held at Barnstable. After describing the Fair, the visitors and the dinner, the Tribune’s correspondent (Mrs. Julia Ward Howe) gives a slight glimpse of what was said, and a fuller statement I shall have been said, as follows:

The speaking was introduced by one Marston of Barnstable, the President of the Agricultural Fair who welcomed his numerous guests with a speech which was received with unanimous approbation.

His speech was received with unanimous approbation.

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## Poetry.

For the Liberator.  
OUR COUNTRY IN THE RIGHT.

"Our country, right or wrong."  
From many a mouth is heard  
Among the giddy, thoughts throng,  
Whose passions war hath stirred:  
"Tis sad how they forget,  
Who often sing this song,  
The nations whose bright sun hath set,  
Because they did the wrong!

Shall we who make our boast  
We're wedded to the right,—  
That Truth shall conquer Error's host,  
And chase the shades of night,—  
Shall we join with the crowd,  
Our streets who daily throng,  
And sing—while death shall weave our shroud—  
"Our country, right or wrong?"

Let each a moment pause,  
Ere to his aid shall lend,  
And ask—Is it a righteous cause  
Which I would now defend?  
And let him rather die  
Than join the thoughtless throng  
From whom is heard the craven cry—  
"Our country, right or wrong?"

Fair better will it be  
We in the contest fall,  
While striving the oppressed to free  
From chains which them enthrall:  
Then death shall have no sting,  
And all beyond be light,  
If by our life we daily sing—  
"Our country, right or wrong?"

Boston, Oct. 30, 1861.

JUSTINIA.

The sentiment of a poem by George Lunt, (one of the editors of the Boston Courier,) which was first published during our war with Mexico, and has been republished in some of our leading journals since the commencement of the civil war in this country.

From the Atlantic Monthly for October.

## OUR COUNTRY.

On primal rocks she wrote her name;  
Her towers were reared on holy graves;  
The golden seed bore her eams  
Swift-winged with prayer o'er ocean waves.

The Forest bowed his solemn crest,  
And open flung his sylvan doors;  
Meek Rivers led the appointed Guest  
To clasp the wide-embracing shores;

Till, fold by fold, the borderland  
To swell her virgin vesture grew,  
While Sage, strong in heart and hand,  
Her virtue's fiery girdle drew.

O, ox! of the wrath of kings!  
O, Pilgrim Ark of Liberty!

The refuge of divinest things,  
Their record must abide in thee!

First in the glories of thy front  
Let the crown-jewel, Truth, be found;  
Thy right hand flings, with generous won,  
Love's happy chain to fairest bound!

Let Justice, with the faultless soles,  
Hold fast the worship of thy sons;  
Thy Commerce spread for shining sails  
Where no dark tide of rapine runs!

So link thy ways to those of God,  
So follow firm the heavenly laws,  
That stars may greet thee, warrior-bred,  
And storm-sped angels hail thy cause!

O land, the measures of our prayers,  
Hope of the world in grief and wrong,  
Be the tribute of the years,  
The gift of Faith, the crown of Song!

## IN TYRANNOS.

Tyrants! your doom is nigh:  
Short is your reign:  
Your bondmen's wailing cry  
To Heaven again:  
Hath risen, and the Infinite God  
Whom ye have long denied,  
Whom ye have long defied,  
Prepareth his avenging rod,  
Those chasteisms shall fall,  
And spread the hideous pall  
Of desolation o'er thy land,  
And when your woes are direst, ye shall see  
Those outraged bondmen, by the Lord it free,  
Erect in majesty of manhood stand!

## II.

Though ye have said  
"God is dead,"  
Yet shall ye awake in dread  
From your long and guilty dream:  
Though his righteous judgments seem  
Long delayed,

They are terrible and sure!  
Though his mercy long endure,  
Be afraid!

When His wrath, which seemeth to sleep,  
Shall awoke to deepest sleep,  
It shall overwhelmedly sweep  
Your refuge of lies away;  
And in that day,  
Beneath His rod,  
Your souls shall say  
"God is God!"

## III.

Too late shall ye believe!  
Too late the truth perceive!  
Ye have begged the lie so long,  
(Ye love it still.)

It hath bound its chain so strong  
Around your will,  
That ye cannot now turn back?

To check destruction's track  
With open eyes,  
And your vision now is sealed  
Till the judgment be revealed?

That shall your souls surprise,  
That shall unseal your eyes,  
And in that day,  
With new-found sight  
And new-discovered light,  
Your souls shall see  
Despairingly,  
And, broken 'neath his rod,  
In anguish say,  
"God is God!"

Patriot, September, 1860.

From the Cambridge Chronicle.

**BEARER.**  
He may be brave  
Whose strong right hand  
Can wield the brand,  
And strike the opponent down;  
To win the field  
Or mortal strife,  
Who gives his life,  
Shall gain a bright renown.

But battle-plain,  
And warrior's fall—  
These are not all  
Héro and coward make;

Strong hand, strong frame  
May have no part  
With upright heart,  
And won't honest fawn.

The coward he  
Whom laugh or jeer,  
Or idle sneer,  
Can force into the wrong;

The hero proves  
Whom no lute moves—  
Who in the right is strong.

## The Liberator.

WHY THE JUDGMENT OF GOD IS UPON  
THE NATION.

A Sermon by REV. DR. WILLIAM H. BRISBANE,  
formerly of South Carolina.

ISAIAH, 58: 6. "Is not this the fact that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?"

You know, my respected hearers, for what our nation is now suffering the judgment of God: why God is offended with us? It is because we have not remembered those in bonds as bound with them. It is because we have four and a half millions of the colored race subjected to the most cruel system of slavery ever known. It is because, when he called through various messengers to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free, the nation would not hear his voice, but allowed his prophets to be lynched, and stoned, and slaughtered. Let us, on this occasion, glance at the history of this nation, and we shall not wonder that God has allowed the petted slaveholders of the Southern States to bring their madness to bear against those who have helped them in their inequality.

Our fathers established for us a government which they designed to sustain and maintain liberty; and although they unfortunately incorporated into the Constitution some features which were not in harmony with that design, yet they never thought that slavery could be fostered by the government they established. A stranger who should come to our shores, and who had never known anything of our history or of our domestic institution, could never infer from a perusal of the U. S. Constitution, that we were a slaveholding nation. Madison, that great statesman, said it would never do to incorporate into the Constitution the idea that man could hold property in man; and hence, the word slave does not occur in that instrument. It was supposed that slavery would very soon, by the action of the several States, die out, and, therefore, a wording was given to such clauses in the Constitution as referred to the condition of slavery, which would not be repugnant to a condition of freedom; as, for instance, the fugitive slave clause is sundered to the dictation. The poor slaves have been uncared for; and even now, that the judgments of God are coming upon us, in the fashion of clashing arms and thundering artillery, how few there are among us who have a word to utter in behalf of down-trodden and crushed humanity! Nay, such is still the strength of the Slave Power, that even the benevolent-hearted Abraham Lincoln, with a Republican Cabinet surrounding him,—whatever may be the noble impulses of his nature,—feels so assured that it will weaken the arm of his administration to take part with the slave, that, in the face of the nations of the earth, he calls upon the great-hearted Fremont to modify that grand proclamation which sent a thrill of joy through every philanthropic nerve of the free States! Yes, humanity has been so crushed out of the body politic, that even REBELS and TRAITORS are trampling upon the flag of this Union, and the Ellsworths, and the Lyons, and other brave and noble spirits, are shot down by traitorous arms, our President is required, by considerations of policy, to spare to these infamous rebels the prerogative of slave masters, who are in arms against the Government for no other purpose, under the wide heavens, than to rict tighter the chains with which the slave is manacled!

It was never designed by the fathers of the Republic that slavery should be perpetuated; and of this, the history of their times gives abundant proof. The philosopher Franklin was the President of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. The great statesman, John Jay, who was the first Chief Justice, was President of an Abolition Society in New York; and there were in their day Abolition Societies in Connecticut, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Kentucky. The great Washington himself said, "It is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." Jefferson's views on that subject were frequently given in some form or other to the public, and his words have often been quoted, which express the idea that God can not take part with the slaveholder. Luther Martin, who was a delegate from Maryland in the Convention that framed the Constitution, gives as a reason for having omitted in that instrument the word slave, that it was "odious in the ears of Americans."

There is no fact in history more undoubted than that the fathers expected and designed that slavery would and should soon pass away. In Massachusetts, such was the state of public sentiment, that no act of the Legislature was necessary to give freedom to their slaves; but, under the mere Declaration of Rights, their Court judicially decreed slavery to be abolished; and in none of the States, except it may have been occasionally by some unnamed essayist or scribbler, was any defence or advocacy of slavery set up. It was almost the universal sentiment that it must soon come to an end. Nor was it until about thirty years ago, that any serious attempt was made to secure to the system a perpetual existence, except it may have been by those who framed the Constitution of South Carolina. And even in that State, it was then difficult for the pro-slavery politicians to impress upon the people at large the idea that it was to be perpetuated. Until about thirty years ago, it was common, even in South Carolina, to condemn the system. But about that time, after the Nat Turner insurrection in Southampton, the Virginians entered into an animated and serious discussion of the question of emancipation, which excited the apprehension of the cotton planters further South; and, as cotton was then becoming a very profitable staple, they sympathized with the slave-breeders of Virginia and from that day to this have been trying to move heaven and earth in behalf of the "peculiar institution." Their early plans were by some means ascertained by Benjamin Lundy, of Baltimore, who, travelling in Texas, learned that that portion of Mexico was to be wrested from the Mexican government, and annexed to the United States, as a means of strengthening slavery. He returned to Tennessee, and announced his discovery. But his words were unheeded, except by a few. He was so zealous, however, in his endeavor to arouse the American people and their statesmen to the threatening danger, that, although a poor man, he began the issue of a small sheet advocating the doctrine of emancipation, and at the same time travelled and lectured through the country, occasionally stopping a short time in some city to get his paper printed. He soon fell in with W. M. LLOYD GARRISON, a young printer of Boston, Massachusetts, who entered heartily with him into the work. Garrison was laid hold of in the city of Baltimore, by the authorities there, and cast into prison. While there, he wrote these words, which show the spirit of the man—

In the year 1851—ten years ago—these prophetic words were uttered by one of Freedoms' bards:—

"But Afric, brood not o'er the past,

Griefs of the world afar,

Though darkness be on the east,

Behold there is beaming star,

Though shortly shall it arise,

To brighten the earth with its blaze,

To scatter the gloom of thy skies,

And bring to these halcyon days.

Though God is a being of love,

His justice is not cease;

His justice has ascended above;

And thou shalt have peace of peace.

But woe to the nation whose laws

Have given no comfort nor rest,

When God shall remember the cause

Of those who are sorely oppressed!"

This prophecy, it seems to me, is being fulfilled.

And with it I am reminded of the words of Jefferson:

"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just."

But I am also reminded of the strong words of H. W. Writ:

"Among my people are found wicked men;

they lay wait as that set traps;

they set traps; they catch men.

Shall I not visit for such a nation as this?"

"Execute judgment in the morning,

and deliver him that is spoilt out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go out like fire,

and burn that none can quench it."

"Ye have not hearkened unto me in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim a liberty for you to the sword."

And true it is that the sword is now free from the scabbard, and God is wielding it even with the hand of those who the nation joined with to oppress the poor. That hand is now turned against the Government that strengthened it. This Government raised up and educated a Beauregard and a Jefferson Davis, and, instead of teaching them to love freedom, and to hate slavery, it gave them preceptors who instructed them that slavery was the cornerstone of this republican edifice! And these men, now, in violation of their oath of allegiance, are investing the capital with a great rebel army, and pointing their guns at the Presidential mansion. And yet this is still the oppressive character of this nation, that the President when he issues his Proclamation for a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer,—although under the war power, (however in time of peace the Constitution may limit his authority,) he may, as a means of weakening the rebel strength, now proclaim freedom to the slaves of the rebel States; and although the Almighty has proclaimed what kind of a fast He is willing to accept,—yet, I say, the President of the United States not only dared not (in that Proclamation for a fast) first to break the oppressors' yoke, but he has not even asked us to remember in our prayers the poor crushed and bruised sons and daughters of Africa! Will God hear our prayers as a nation, so long as our President is obliged, by public sentiment, to withhold all words of sympathy for these our peeled, and afflicted, and oppressed countrymen? I repeat, I do not censure Mr. Lincoln. He acts in his representative capacity; and while, doubtless, he feels for the poor and oppressed, and longs for their deliverance, and sincerely prays for himself the freedom of the slave, yet he is governed by that policy which dares not go in advance of the sentiments of that portion of the people from whom loans are to be obtained for the war.

Many men in high places, if they are not traitors to

"I am an abolitionist—  
I glory in the cause,  
Though now by Slavery's minions biased,  
And covered o'er with shame;  
It is a spell of light and power;  
The watchword of the free;  
Who spurns it in the mortal hour,  
A chosen soul is he!"

Had the nation listened to his warning voice a quarter of a century ago, had the ministers and churches in this land done their duty as exhorted them to do, it should have been now rid of the crime of slavery, and there would have been no occasion for this judgment of God upon us. But a rope was placed around this early champion of freedom, and by a yelling mob he was dragged through the streets of Boston, under the very shadow of the Cradle of Liberty; and from that day, until within a few years have those who had had heart enough to call themselves abolitionists, or shown any disposition to befriend the slave, been ostracized from society; whilst many of them suffered in their own persons in dignities, and even cruel scourgings, and some have suffered death. The brave and noble LOVEJOY, brother of the now distinguished Senator in Congress, was shot down while defending the press in the city of Alton. The noble-hearted TORNEY, an eloquent minister of the Gospel, was sentenced to the penitentiary in Maryland, and was there left to pine away and die.

But it is for THE PEOPLE to require of the Government to come up to the true standard, whilst they themselves are the defenders of that righteousness which exalteth a nation. As I believe in God, as I believe in the blessed Saviour of sinners, the Great Redeemer who came to preach deliverance to the captive—as I believe in this Holy Book before me as the Revelation of God's will—so do I believe that there is no salvation for this nation until it repents of the wrongs done to our slave countrymen, and is ready "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke." I call, therefore, upon Christian patriots, on this day, to pray to God with their whole hearts to change the disposition of the people, to bring them to true repentance, and to prepare them to do justice to the slave. Otherwise, God will not only shake this nation to its centre, but, whilst He sweeps away in his wrath those who, to establish slavery, have drawn the sword against the Government, will also with the same besom of destruction sweep away the Government itself, and leave us to be spoiled by those whom we have despised.

But I have hope for my country. I do not believe that there is to be an end of our nationality. I do not believe that the godly inheritance left us by our fathers, and for which they shed their blood, is to become the soil of despotism, and that the freest and best of all governments upon the earth is to be displaced by a government either of tyrannical slaveholders, or of self-emancipated slaves, demanding vengeance upon those who enslaved them. No: I believe my countrymen will repent. I believe that these Northern States will yet learn that, to secure the whole Union, and retain every star in our star-spangled banner, we must say to the haughty Southern, SLAVERY MUST AND SHALL BE ABOLISHED. I believe we shall yet stand on the side of the down-trodden, and throw to the breeze the banner, LIBERTY TO ALL, OF EVERY CLIME AND OF EVERY HUE; and that the now poor and ignorant and oppressed of the South, whether white or black, and the masters themselves, will all thank God that the North was true to freedom.

Then sound it, sound it, sound it strong!  
That Freedoms' right, that Slavery's wrong;  
And sound this truth will all men see,  
And strike for glorious Liberty!

the Government, are traitors to humanity; and under their influence, the people and their conventions stifle the noblest impulses of their natures, lest they might seem to be in opposition to the Administration its time of peril, not remembering that the true way to support the Government is to strengthen it on the side of righteousness.

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